

The ageing population and pensions: will we cope?

ESRC Festival of Social Science

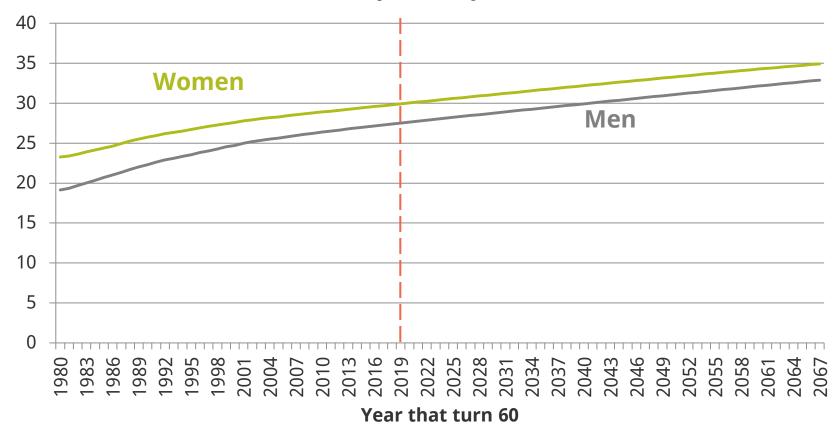
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The UK's ageing population



Life expectancy at 60



Source: ONS

The UK's ageing population



0.45 0.40 0.35 0.30 0.25 0.20 0.15 0.10 0.05 0.00 2017 2019 2021 2023 2025 2027 2029 2031 2033 2035 2037 2039 2041 2043 2045 2047 Year

Projected old-age dependency ratio

Note: Old age dependency ratio is calculated as the total projected population aged 65 and above divided by the total projected population aged 16-65.



World Economic Forum points to shortfall of trillions in what people are saving against the cost of funding their retirement



Big changes are taking place. These raise questions:

- 1. What does ageing mean for the sustainability of pensions systems?
- 2. How should the government respond?
- 3. Are people able to going to be able to provide for their retirement?
- Using UK data, but lessons apply in many advanced economies

Pensions and the challenge of demographics

Pensions in the UK: a primer



1. State pension

- Paid at a **fixed rate** to everyone with sufficient years of eligible activities (currently £160/week)
- Paid out of **current** taxation ("Pay as you go")

2. Employer provided pension

- <u>Defined benefit</u> pays an amount that depends on earnings in working life according to some rule
- <u>Defined contribution</u>: employee decides how much to contribute into a pension 'pot'. In retirement, choose how to spend this pot.

3. Other forms of saving

• House, holdings of stocks and shares, personal pensions etc.

Population ageing and the state pension



Increasing longevity makes "pay-as-you-go" systems less affordable

• Same number working, supporting more pensioners for longer

For the state pension system, this requires one or more of:

- 1. Increase in taxation for those working
- 2. Reduction in generosity of state pensions:
 - Pension paid at a lower rate
 - Increase in the state pension age
- **3**. Government borrowing (i.e. higher taxes or lower spending later)

Population ageing and the state pension

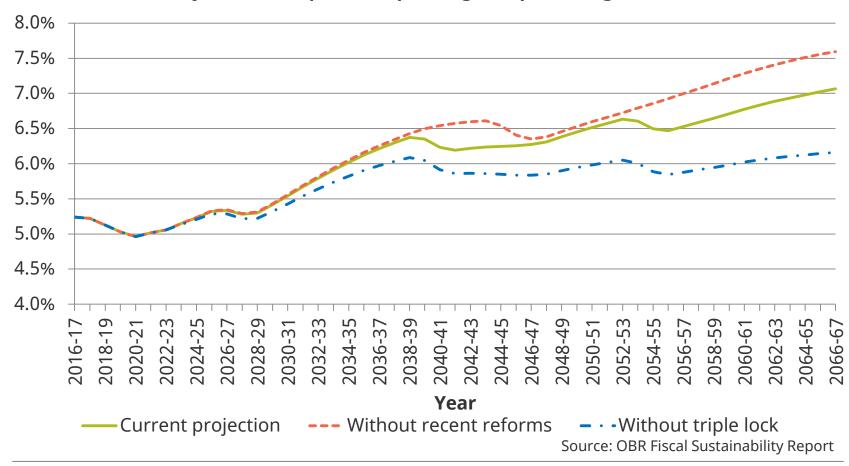


Government has responded by reducing generosity of pensions:

- Elimination of earnings-related components of the state pension
- State pension age (SPA) increasing:
 - Was 65, now rising
 - Will reach 68 by 2039
 - Next review considering further rises will report by 2023







Projected state pension spending as a percentage of GDP

Population ageing and employer pensions



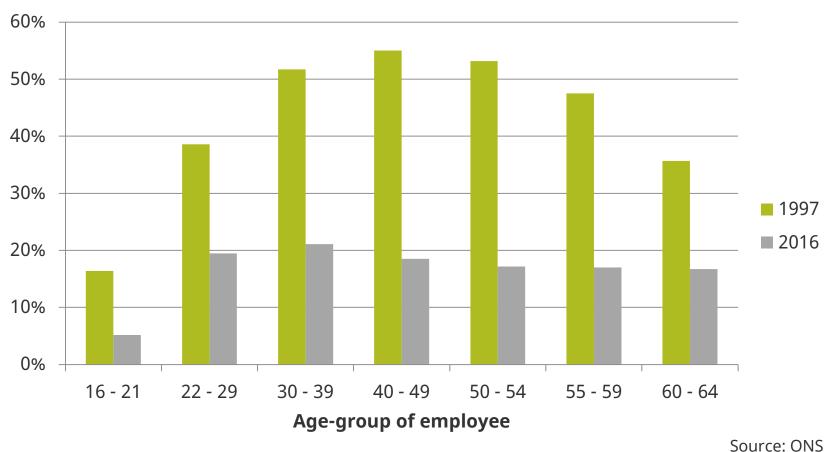
Increased longevity and low interest rates have also put pressure on defined benefit pension schemes

• Many have struggled financially

Employers withdrawing from offering DB pensions

Population ageing and employer pensions





Percentage of employee jobs in a defined benefit pension scheme

The ageing population and pensions: will we cope?

How do individuals provide for their retirement?



Providing for retirement is increasingly an individual responsibility

- State pension worth around a third of full-time earnings
- Defined contribution pensions now the norm

If people were completely rational, all-knowing, all-calculating, we might see few problems

• Individuals choose what is best for them: trade-off spending vs saving

But economics tells us the world is not like that – in important ways!

- 1. 'Irrationality': impatience and procrastination about saving
- 2. Imperfect information: underestimating survival chances

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Impatience and procrastination



Individuals tend to give extra "weight" to today when making decisions – "present bias"

- People also often tend to stick with the default option: "inertia"
- This can lead people to put off savings decisions

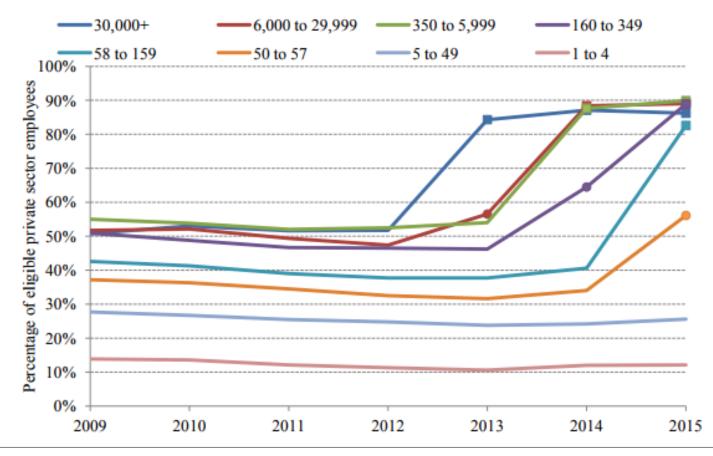
Policy response has been to **automatically enrol** workers into workplace pension scheme

- US "Save for Tomorrow" schemes (Thaler and Benartzi, 2004)
- In UK, Pensions Act (2005):
 - Default contribution rate of 8% (at least for 3% from employer)
 - Individuals can still choose to leave scheme if they wish

Impatience and procrastination: policy



Workplace pension membership rates amongst private sector employees eligible for automatic enrolment by firm size in 2012



Impatience and procrastination



Individuals tend to give extra "weight" to today when making decisions – "present bias"

Policy response has been to **automatically enrol** workers into workplace pension scheme

Workplace pension **participation rates have risen dramatically**

- Are the right people opting out?
- Should contribution rates rise further?

Uncertainty about mortality: survival pessimism

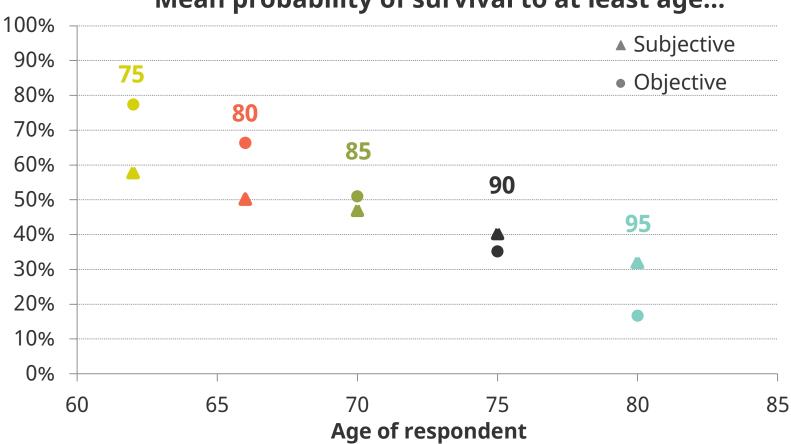


Do people have a good idea of how long they are going to live?

• How can we test this?

Uncertainty about mortality: survival pessimism





Mean probability of survival to at least age...

The ageing population and pensions: will we cope?

Uncertainty about mortality: survival pessimism



Do people have a good idea of how long they are going to live?

• How can we test this?

Pessimism about survival up to 85/90 and optimism for oldest ages

Might people spend down their wealth too fast? (slow at oldest ages!)

What does this all mean for policy?

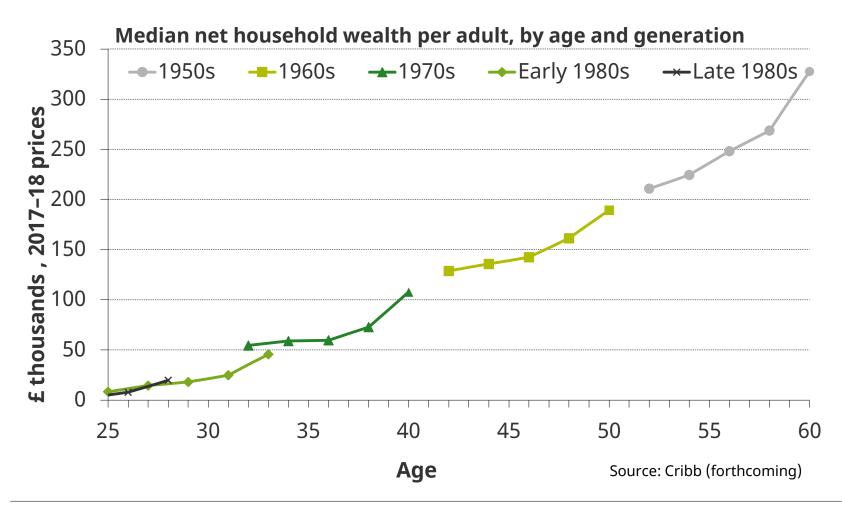
- Until 2015, essentially compulsory to use DC pension wealth to buy a guaranteed income, or "annuity".
- 2015 "Pensions freedoms" gave consumers much more choice about use of wealth at retirement.
- Demand for annuities has fallen sharply (Cannon et al., 2016).



Most individuals currently reaching retirement can maintain income (Crawford and O'Dea, 2012)

• Only a minority saw significant falls in income at retirement







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Wealth accumulation has stalled for younger generations

• Are young people 'under saving'? Too much avocado toast?

But these generations saved in very different circumstances

- Reasons to save less: lower returns on savings, lower earnings growth
- Reasons to save more: live longer, less generous state pensions

It's not all about savings: people might choose to work longer too





Demographic change presents challenges

- Rising dependency ratio poses problems for sustainability of state pensions and defined benefit schemes
- The government is reacting by increasing the state pension age and firms increasingly offer defined contribution pension schemes
- Providing for retirement is increasingly the responsibility of individuals

Greater reliance on individual provision has its own challenges

- Accumulation: procrastination tackled with automatic enrolment?
- Decumulation: survival pessimism raises questions

Important to monitor how younger generations are saving

• Must be considered alongside wider economic circumstances

Further links



The adequacy of wealth amongst those approaching retirement (IFS)

https://www.ifs.org.uk/comms/r72.pdf

Economic circumstances of different generations (IFS):

https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/publications/bns/bn187.pdf

TED talk on "Save more tomorrow" (Shlomo Benartzi)

https://www.ted.com/talks/shlomo_benartzi_saving_more_tomorrow

Finkelstein, A. and Poterba, J., Adverse Selection in Insurance Markets: Policyholder Evidence from the U.K. Annuity Market. Journal of Political Economy

Benartzi, S. and Thaler, R., 2007. Heuristics and biases in retirement savings behavior. Journal of Economic perspectives

Thaler, R.H. and Benartzi, S., 2004. Save more tomorrow™: Using behavioral economics to increase employee saving. Journal of political Economy

Cribb, J. and Emmerson, C., 2016. What happens when employers are obliged to nudge? Automatic enrolment and pension saving in the UK. IFS Working Paper

O'Dea, C. and Sturrock, D., 2017. Subjective expectations of survival and economic behaviour. IFS Working Paper

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